1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

[P. 48d] Koyeti

KOYETI

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One of Maiyemai's songs is given by Kroeber:[118]

lanaka nan-a
listen to me

mayèmai
[name of the composer of the song]

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge wehe

wè mukulau
we [turning]

hi sonolo wèhè
hi hand-feather-ornament wehe

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Another important doctor, not a Koyeti, was Sapagai of Tejon. Another doctor, named Ci č·n, killed Sapagai because he failed to cure someone.

About ceremonies little could be obtained from D.F. He knew the Doctors' Contest but doubted that it was ever made by the Koyeti at any time.

[551]

Huhuna was danced (?) by a Yaudanchi man named Camsu´sa (a nickname meaning "many whiskers"). This man performed at Tejon and at Tule. D.F. claims he did not dance: "just tried to find money."[119] The costume was not intelligibly described, but D.F. thought Huhuna's face was covered. He "ran around by

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[118] The Yokuts Language, 367; given to Kroeber by Peter Christman, a Yaudanchi informant.

[119] D.F. may have meant that he did not dance as in the kan or do conventional dance steps.

535 ated it from all other pleasure dances, cannot be said, as no informant could give the necessary details. For no ascertainable reason it is referred to in English as the "war dance." J.B.'s account follows.

Tepo´sa, a Wowol, and another man named Ana´ki, danced this at times of celebration, particularly at the close of a mourning ceremony. "It was only done at a very big fandango. Bob Bautista danced this any time to make money but that wasn't done in the old days."

The dancers wore the regulation feather skirt and headdress. Teposa had his face painted entirely black; Anaki had one-half his face black, the other side white. Both men had [302] their bodies covered with short horizontal white stripes. Two singers accompanied them, [533] Ka´tai and Yawa´umi; they were Teposa's sister's sons.

535 When it was the appointed time after a mourning ceremony for a dance, such as the kam, 574 several dancers from visiting tribes would take turns performing for an hour or so. In this way a keen sense of competition was created and the dancers catered to an appreciative audience.

535 The dancers who participated in the all-
765 night dance after a mourning ceremony were al-
[756] ways doctors, according to J.P. They would be sought from among the visitors, as would be the singers. There would be four to six men dancers who stood in a row, while one woman only stood in front of them. Whatever woman was asked for this role had to comply, and she would be given about ten cents (a half hista of bead money) for doing it. "If she didn't know how to dance, she just stood there until she got her money and then ran off."

533 The singers used clapper accompaniment
534 (the cocoon rattle was used only for the Bear
765 Dance and Snake Ritual). There were three or four of them. One man sat beside them and collected the money for the dancers and singers; a man who did this was termed winatum for the
541 time being. J.P. said that in the old days "when the money was beads, it was so piled up you couldn't carry it off in a blanket."

When a chief wanted to make money he would collect some dancers and singers and visit other villages, or often the performers themselves would go without a chief's sponsorship. Of course, they could not give an entertainment at any place visited without having the permission of the chief of that place. When a chief accompanied them as "manager," he collected the money and distributed it among the performers. The singers were invariably paid "because it is hard work to sing all night."

552 The name "war dance," which has become
535 attached to this shamans' pleasure dance (kam or watiyod), J.P. regards as entirely due to white persons' misunderstanding. No fight or

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 1166] Wukchumni

552 536 hostile intention was ever associated with this dance in practice or by tradition.

Watiyod

552 756 The wa'tiyod was a dance performed by shamans for the entertainment of onlookers and for making money for themselves. Usually two or more women participated. The accompanying [534] singers used the clapper (taowid). The dance could be made at any place at any season. While it was wholly profane in character, it was, nevertheless, performed only by doctors.

J.B.'s account is localized at Šiyedu, a Wukchumni seed-gathering camp.

This dance was done by Watišti (Watisti) and his mother Boyiwan (Poi'on).[266] This was the only "pleasure" dance they made and the only dance performed at the camp called Šiyedu. It was done every month or so, "whenever the doctor wanted to make a little money, or somebody else, like the tia'a, asked him to." Men, women, and children assembled to watch.

Watisti wore the vertical feather and feather wreath headdress, a feather skirt, and carried feather bunches (wač'am) in each hand. [302] His face was painted entirely black, and short perpendicular alternating black and white stripes covered his torso. Black and white stripes encircled his arms and legs.

Poi'on, who danced with him, had eagle down glued across her forehead, wore a deerskin apron, and carried hand feathers. [302] Her face bore alternate stripes of black and white running obliquely from beneath the eyes to the edge of the jawbone. Her body was unpainted.

535 Their accompanist was Ponato (Bill Gar-
● 533 field), who "always sang at Šiyedu." He wore no paint or ornaments, merely carrying his elderwood clapper. Beside him was a basketry tray on which spectators deposited small sums of money as payment. The singer received one-half the total amount.

Both dancers sang in unison with the singer. The man's step was the usual stamping with high-lifted knees. Although he remained nominally in the same place, he turned about facing this way and that at will. The woman kept her feet parallel, close together, and took sidewise jumps, moving her hands in unison and in the same direction as her feet. She covered more ground than her partner, although her movements were less facile.

The performance began at dark of a summer evening, about eight o'clock, and might continue until midnight. Each dance unit lasted three to five minutes, during which time the singer repeated the same song two or three times. Then there would be a rest, and then again another song and dancing for a few

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[266] See the Bankalachi account of these people who were "southerners" living at Šiyedu.

535 minutes. When the dancer wanted his singer to
533 start or stop, he held his hand feathers out toward him. For each dance unit there was a new song although the steps remained the same.

J.B. was unable to repeat any of the songs, but he said their content dealt solely with the animal creatures who inhabited the world during the mythical prehuman era, they were all about Eagle, Coyote, Dove, etc. He did not think there was any defined order for the series of songs.

535 The informant M.L. used to participate in the watiyod as one of the female dancers along with her mother, mother's sister, and mother's brother. She said that nearly always the women would be some kin of the men performers. She described the affair as follows.

'This dance could be held at any time of year -- whenever a doctor wanted to make some money or was asked to perform. Usually it was an evening spectacle. The village winatum would build a fire at the dance space, a large one in winter, a small one in summer. Spectators brought tule mats and sat around to watch. They also brought a bit of money as payment, which was collected by the singer accompanists who shared in the profits.

535 Usually there were four or five men and
302 four women participants. The men wore feather skirts (ṭu'hun), bracelets and anklets of crow feathers, and each carried one large black quill in the right hand. Their bodies were painted with horizontal stripes of white. The women wore deerskin aprons (some of them trimmed with rattling deer hooves), bead necklaces, ear plugs, and carried a feather bunch in each hand. Their faces were covered with red paint and over it a horizontal row of white dots crossed the cheeks and nose.

535 Two or three singers sat at one side using
533 clappers. The doctors had their own songs, which the singers knew, and all sang together. And, said M.L., the women sang also in a loud shrill manner.

The dancers all stood in a row with two women taking the end positions. The men stamped heavily with each foot, swaying the feather quill back and forth, while the women jumped from side to side with feet clamped together, moving their feather bunches in unison with their feet. If a "tiya wanted a dancer to show off he would have his winatum call to him to step out of line and dance alone for a bit." A winatum could also call out mistakes made by the dancers. M.L. could not say what such errors might be other than getting out of step with one's companions. A singer might attract attention to a dancer's mistake by stopping his clapper, patting his hand against his mouth and uttering a loud ululatin "Ha-a-a-a," at which everybody laughed.

533 The songs were "all about animals." A few
M.L. recalled appear below. She said the first

[P. 117b] Wukchumni

● 533 two were sung by Chunut doctors,[267] the other four were Wukchumni.

533 1. ta´wːt ṭːnima tawatawːl [repeat 4 times]
539 dead maybe motion of hand feathers in dancer's hands

soisoi ma´yːn tawːt ṭːnima
Goldfinch calls dead maybe

ho ma ta´niša tawːt ṭːnima
are you going dead maybe

soisoi mayːn
goldfinch calls

Perhaps dead? feathers moving
Perhaps Goldfinch tells [you] to be dead
Perhaps you are going to the dead
Goldfinch is calling [you]

2. hiwai´tːn ni
walking I [it is understood Bear is speaking]

hu´nai hiwaitːn ni
nothing walking I

hunai hoi´yuwo nːm
nothing come back my

ča´wai hunai o´yai
someone nothing calls

I am walking
I am just walking for nothing
My return is for nothing
Someone is calling me for nothing

3. so´kšok šo´kšok ṭu´mːt na ṭːpni ṭumːt na ṭːpni
kingfisher kingfisher cover me power cover me power

šo´ho· šo´ho· na· na´hːt na· na´hːt
[nonsense line]

kate´ wahːṇ na
doing circle I

Kingfisher, Kingfisher, cover me with your power
I am circling about [as a kingfisher flies when hunting]

4. ñohõ´ʾõ o´mtːs na ma hanːnwa
Bear hunting I you all

ma ah´taha na
you hunt I

ṭːpa´ne ma
power you

Bear, I am hunting you all
You have great supernatural power

[267] Later on, while we were working with the Chunut at Lemoore, little girls were overheard singing the first song (1). Kroeber gives several Yokuts songs in The Yokuts Language, 363-372.

[P. 1180] Wukchumni

5335. aiyama´t:n na pa´n:n
539 worthless I country (it is understood Coyote is speaking)

he´y:n do´mto pan:n aiya´mči
they call mountain country worthless

I'm worthless
The mountain people call me worthless

6. ta'a´nad uku´n ču´haš pokai´du
I going drink finished [?] spring water

wa do´mtuk Wukediu
far mountainward Wukediu (name of spring)

I am going to drink spring water
Far up the mountain at Wukediu

524 Another dance or game was described most
883 incoherently by M.L. She could give it no name and said it was participated in by young people on moonlight nights. Essentially it was a kind of "roughhouse." Girls who did not want to take part would be seized by winatums, laughingly scolded, and thrown into the group.

VARIOUS CEREMONIES

Jimsonweed Ritual

796 The following account combines information from M.L., M.P., S.G., and J.B., who were in agreement on all essential points. Not one of these informants, however, admitted taking jimsonweed and no subsequent information led me to doubt their veracity. A participant would have been preferable as an informant.

796 The ceremony of jimsonweed drinking
262 (taña´y:n; ta´ñai, jimsonweed) was always held
276 in the early spring about February to March; "while the sagebrush was in bloom" (M.P.). Soon after the winter solstice a winatum would go through the village saying that all those who wished or intended to participate in the next ceremony must cease to eat meat. Not only did the prospective drinkers observe this tabu but also "their parents and everyone connected with it" [i.e., specifically the leader of the ritual] must abstain also (M.P.). Thereafter only acorn dishes and clover were eaten until twelve days after the rite had taken place -- roughly speaking, a period of three months.

796 Adolescent boys and girls partook, but not
767 under compulsion. The general purpose was an
276 insurance of future good health and consequent long life; some youths hoped to obtain supernatural helpers by this means; much secret knowledge was discovered during the coma, e.g., who were evil shamans and who their prospective victims, or the causes of peculiar and chronic illnesses. Normally jimsonweed was taken but

796 or animal, it would become their helper in time
276 of need. Then each boy and girl was given a
[787] drink of the liquid which was dipped up in the individual drinking baskets. M.P. thought the quantity was about one to two cupfuls; sometimes a second dose had to be given if the initial amount was not effective. The drinkers, wrapped in blankets, remained near the central fire as a preventive of chill, an effect of the narcotic which was recognized as dangerous. As each one became unconscious, he was carried into a shelter where his women attendants took charge. One held his head in her lap, the other his feet, and both gently rocked the child and sang as he slept. The mother and father stood by watching; they could not be present if they had eaten meat. The chief function of the attendants was to guard against flight: "sometimes a child would rise right up in fright and rush out never to be seen again" (M.P.). If this happened the leaders of the ritual were held to blame for carelessness. Such flights usually occurred in the morning following the drinking, as a heavy coma set in during the first twelve to eighteen hours. Sometimes a light gruel was given the drinkers
796 as they stirred and became active. About the
276 time they were expected to awake several women
● 533 would sing gentle "waking" songs. M.L.'s mother sang on such occasions though M.L. could give no reason other than that she often sang, danced, etc., in public performances. The songs were simple, saying "You drank tañai, you should wake up," or "Get up and drink more tañai" (but more jimsonweed was never administered then). One such song was:

upu´tumi·	uka´naka tañá´ya	lu´lhe·'	lula´lhe·'
Arise.	Drink tañai.	Walk!	Walk!

796 As the drinkers became active they were
276 able to see obscure causes of illness. A sick
755 person would come, give the drinker a feather bunch, and his sickness, which, it was said, usually appeared as swarms of insects to the intoxicant, would be brushed off. As these microcosms were brushed into a fire they made a popping noise audible only to the drinker. The person was invariably cured: "even cancer was cured this way" (M.P.).

796 As an example of typical behavior M.L.
276 said a drinker, seeing S.G. throw a burden-
787 strap toward his mother, immediately brushed her off, believing that it was a snake trying to sicken her in some way. M.L.'s first husband took tañai and saw "the railroad before it came; he saw something moving around without any horses to pull it; it frightened him so he ran around wild."

If occult disclosures concerning the evil
[754] behavior of certain shamans came to a drinker, he confided this to his parents (provided they had eaten no meat) and to his attendants. What was done with such information was not stated.

796 M.L.'s description of the Bear Dance was essentially the same. She was a participant along with her relatives -- her mother, mother's sister, her younger sister [cousin] and brother [cousin?] -- of whom her mother's brother, Tai´sus, was the leader. The chief at Diapnuša would send his winatum to Taisus saying it was time to hold the dance [sic].

796 237 The male dancers wore whole bearskins fastened on their backs, but held nothing in their hands. The women merely wore the usual deerskin apron, ear plugs, etc., of dress occasions, and carried bunches of crow feathers [534] in their hands. At one side were two singers who used rattles made of stiff deer hide tied over the end of a stick and containing a few pebbles. This type was used for no other dance.

The men held up their hands and, taking three hops forward, said "Xo'! xo'! xo'!" The women made no sound, but remained in one place with feather bunches raised, making little lifting motions with their heels.

796 533 539 Meanwhile the singers sang. Two of their songs follow:

1. so´nowau nːm lukaˊomao
storehouse my [place name]

(My storehouse is at Lukaomao)

2. waˊšo waˑhaˑsoˑ huˑšeˑmeˑhu
small basket small basket [futurity]

waˊšo ukun husːm ñohõ´´õ na husːm
small basket drink [futurity] Bear I
[futurity]

(I, Bear, will drink from my little acorn mush basket)

796 No matter how much the spectators wished to see the dance repeated, it could be done but once on each occasion, "they had to wait till next year."

The Yaudanchi probably had the same dance, as Kroeber attributes it to them and to the Choinimni.[270]

[302] ...The two or three participants were painted entirely black, and were naked save for a head-[237] band of eagle down and a claw necklace, or a skin around the loins that had been taken from the animal they controlled. The dance was clearly mimetic. The feet were held together, the body leaned forward, the hands hung down. Gradually the doctors jumped to their song, growled, spread their fingers like claws, and leaped forward as if to seize a foe.

The Yaudanchi informant, M.S. of Moko village, categorically denied the Bear Dance

[270] Handbook, 517.

Y 796 and Huhuna Dance to the Yaudanchi, attributing these dances and any performers making them to the Wukchumni.

Deer Dance

M 796 Another dance, ascribed primarily to the Patwisha and of somewhat the same genre as the Bear Dance, was the Deer Dance. According to J.B.'s account:

This was done every spring soon after the Snake Ritual. It was danced by Ni´wič and Ha´ñaš, brothers. Both men were fine hunters. They assumed no deer ornaments, merely dancing in the usual ceremonial regalia. They held their hands up close to their shoulders, palms out, and took dainty steps markedly to the left and to the right, at each step uttering a plaintive "Ma·a·a·!"

M 796 825 Like the dancing bear she had seen, J.B.'s wife also saw some dancing deer, a very rare experience.

This was on a little hill near Dunlap. Six deer came tripping out from some undergrowth. They progressed by taking a step to the right, hesitating, then a step to the left, hesitating, and so on. At each step they said "Ma·a·" in squeaky little voices "just like lambs." J.B.'s wife remained utterly still until the deer, still mincing, vanished into the brush.

Beaver Dance

Y 796 Another ceremony of the display type was staged by men who had power from fish, or possibly from water or water creatures. Both M.L. and M.P. had witnessed this, but neither of them could attach any purpose to it. The citing of "fish camps" along the rivers suggests that the rite might have something to do with the fish supply.

According to M.L., the Beaver Dance took place about midwinter. A doctor who had power from fish (čadut añṭu, catfish doctor) built a tule-covered house around the outside of which he hung cured beaver skins (tau´piš). While spectators gathered outside, he entered the booth, sang, and danced. As he did this the beaver skins trembled and a "swsh-swsh, swsh-swsh" sounded continuously. Then a woman, a "plain" woman, who had no ṭ:pni power and who was not sick, would lie down and groan. The doctor emerged, brushed her off with his hand feathers, and sang in a soft whispering voice:

Y 796 539 533

ča´dut, ča´dut, ča´dut
catfish, catfish, catfish

e´b:se, e´b:se, e´b:se
trout, trout, trout

796
539
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koko´čo, koko´čo, koko´čo
[a very large fish]

tapa´psu, tapa´psu, tapa´psu
perch, perch, perch

The onlookers marked time with their hands or feet and sang continuously the burden:

ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·', ha´ho·'ho·'

The woman "patient" did not sing. Several more women would do the same thing. M.L. thought they were perhaps empowered by the doctor's mind, hypnotized so to say. [This fits with Kroeber's description of this rite as a "willing" or "wishing" one.] Then a man (ahaja´'amu aṇṭu, not translated) lay down groaning too. Neither in this nor in any other display had M.L. seen showers of fish appear.

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M.P.'s description differs from this somewhat, and it may be that shamans differed in the staging of their displays. She said that the "fish doctor" performed in his own house, but that a partition of mats was arranged between himself and his audience. Two or three men participated, and men, women, and children looked on. M.P. said the one performance which she saw was in her childhood and she "wouldn't have been able to keep awake if it hadn't been so pretty."

The walls and partition were hung with beaver skins. The principal fish doctor danced and in a singing voice called out the name of every fishing camp and village along the river [Kaweah]. As he did this the beaver skins shook and little fish (ta´k:t, minnow ?) dropped out of the skins. In some manner these fish fell over the other side of the partition on the shamans who "had to call for help there were so many of them." After this performance the "men and women ate all night" but what they ate M.P. did not know because she was sent to bed.

[825]

I have used the term Beaver Dance for this ritual because the beaver skins seem to be an essential part of the performance and because the term fits with the Yokuts ritual series -- Bear, Snake, Seed-growing, Rain-making, Jimsonweed-drinking -- more appropriately than the correct but abstract name "wishing ceremony" (ohowish) used by Kroeber.[771] His description of the rite is as follows:

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...Several shamans gather in a specially made house or booth, behind a screen of tules, and perform to songs appropriate to the occasion. The skins of beavers and otters hang about the walls. These animals are the personal spirits of the ohowish medicine men, the "wishers" or "willers," whose power seems connected with water, as among their achievements mentioned is that of making fish in a vessel of water. Such

[771] Ibid., 507.

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Wobonuch sites:
14. sui ˈnawe
15. suina ˈweta mapa ˈdowːn: suinawe junction or fork
16. paha ˈwetᵘ: meaning "pestle place"
17. kini ˈdewetᵘ: Sacata Flat
18. sasi ˈwetᵘ: fishing camp; given as sasi ˈwe by D.S.
19. wiya ˈma: Oak Mountain

STRUCTURES

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Dwellings.---A house was called tomo ˈhːš, and was probably hemispherical, not conical nor gabled, if my understanding of P.D.W.'s description is correct. The frame was called sutu ˈwːts, the term for the material used, and was covered with a thatch, not mats, of a "brush" called ai ˈač, which was tied on with hoˈ. This grassy "brush" had the quality of matting when wet, so it was practically waterproof. The floor was not dug out "except to make a good sleeping place" (possibly individual hollows filled with bark and tule mats). The doorway of the house was called ti šːč, covered with a removable door of twined aiač fastened on a frame.

[352 513]

A dome-shaped earth lodge was used by the Choinimni, according to Mayfield; his circumstantial description fills an omission in Kroeber's data and my own. This lodge was circular, excavated about two feet deep. Willow poles were abutted in the walls about six inches apart, their tips then bent inward and tied to a wood hoop. Other circular, horizontal withes were lashed around the frame. "Around and over this frame were stood tules to a depth of about ten or twelve inches. Then the soil was thrown over the tules to a depth of several inches. After a few years grass grew over the house and it looked like an underground house or cellar." The floor was covered thickly with tule mats, with extra layers at the sleeping places. Rabbitskin blankets and, if obtainable, bearskins were used as bed-coverings in winter. Save for sleeping, the house was used only in bad weather, when a fire was made in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping directly above. Otherwise all food preparation, cooking, and eating were done outside.[6]

[352 513]

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The average-sized house comfortably held a family of six. No ceremonies took place in it, though a man might dance or a flutist play if he were asked, or someone might sing. The hand game (henaoˈːša) was played there.

[533 524]

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Storehouses.---Little thatched storehouses (wiči ˈtiː literally, little house) were built close to the dwelling. There the men of the family kept their dance regalia and their materials (sinew, hides, drills, feathers, etc.) for making various things, as well as

[6] Latta, op. cit., 22-23.

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343 small trinkets stored in baskets. Women kept
251 extra baskets, the burden and fish baskets there, and food which was stored for immanent use.

The acorn storage bin (su'u'na) was made of twined mats of aiač tied around a stout cylindrical framework. The upper ends of the mat wefts were left untwined and, after the bin was filled, these loose tops were bunched up and tied tightly. Acorns were removed from a hand hole near the bottom which was plugged up with willow bark (or any convenient material). The bin was set up on a special platform supported by four posts or in the branches of a tree, to which it was lashed with ho'.[7]

343 Sweat house (mos).--This was the usual
515 two-post structure described for the Central Foothill region. A new one was not built until the old one burned or was beyond repair. The fire was just inside the door; so was the firewood, in two piles, one on each side of the door. Whoever was sitting nearest the wood kept up the fire.

Any male "old enough to stand it" was welcome to make use of the sweat house. There was no ceremonial dancing within it, but doctors or others who knew how would occasionally dance there (perhaps for practice, as we [533 know from the Wukchumni). The flute was often
524] played there, but games were not indulged in.

SUBSISTENCE AND CLOTHING

262 Foods.--Foods available and used were those customary with other foothill Yokuts and were procurable in abundance. Rock salt was
[263] known -- probably traded from the Monachi -- but more often the salty deposit on certain grasses was flicked off on a small willow twig. Greens and bulbs, tule and iris roots were the vegetable foods besides the staple acorn. Buckeye seed was used after a thorough leaching only when acorns were scarce.

252 In discussing the preparation of acorns,
262 Mayfield says that "a sort of sieve or colander, made of fine willow shoots," was used to separate the coarse and fine particles. (This does not necessarily preclude the usual Yokuts circular winnowing tray.) The preparing and cooking of acorn foods are as reported generally for the Yokuts. The soaproot brush with
[412] straight bristles was used for brushing up acorn flour at mortar holes.

Piñon nuts were collected and prepared as by the Wakasachi (see below), eaten roasted or mashed in a rich mush.

262 Ground squirrels were smoked from their
224 burrows, but the fan used was a basket or
184 piece of hide, i.e., evidently not a feather fire fan.

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[7] Mayfield describes a similar granary (ibid., 23).

482 Occasionally a basket cap was worn under the tumpline
[854] to ease the pressure, as was sometimes done when carrying a heavy child in a cradle.[11]

Musical instruments.---The elderwood flute
534 (u´tač) had four holes. Not many men could play it; P.D.W. thought one had to dream about it to become really adept. Two Choinimni experts at Kulušao were Kudu´ma and La'hai´yi. Samson Dick (Ya´ki) is the only person living
[237] now who can play well.[12] The hawk shinbone whistle (pu´sač) was held in the mouth while the musician executed dance steps. This kind of whistling is called wušinuha´o, the term applied to ordinary (European) whistling with pursed lips. The elderwood clapper (ta´wal) was used for most ceremonial accompaniments, the cocoon rattle (sa´nač) being reserved exclusively for doctor's shamanistic dancing and for the Bear Dance.

Beating upon a hollow log is reported by Mayfield.

[202] A short musical bow, twanged upon while
[198] one end was held in the mouth, was heard by Mayfield. Whistling, he said, was used only for signaling.[13]

●533 The singers who accompanied dancing were called ale´k:č; the act of singing, or songs, e´lkaš.

Paint.---White paint (ho´sot) was a clay
302 "dug up in the swamps around here" (i.e., at
386 the edge of the foothills toward Centerville).
[439] Red paint (hu´'iyu) was got in trade from the Eastern Mono. Black paint (wa´won) was of unknown source. All these paints were lumpy; in preparation they were ground or rubbed down on a rock, then mixed with grease and applied with the fingers. P.D.W. insists that there were no distinctive totemic paint patterns. White paint, crudely smeared, was worn on a doctor's arms and body when he was dancing.

Pipes.---A pipe of wood (elderwood) was
276 called a´tsi. P.D.W.'s pipe, the typical Yokuts pipe, was about 3 inches long, about 5/16 of an inch in diameter at the base and 1/2 inch at the outer end. The hollowing for the "bowl" was about 1/4 inch in diameter, and held but a small pinch of tobacco. Only one or two puffs were taken, perhaps twice a day. A pipe of clay was called sa´kmai; these were not common.[14] The other common form, comparable to the wood pipe, was called si´k:l (cane) from the cane which was obtained for this and for arrow-making from the Aiticha; no cane grew up in the hills, said P.D.W. The cane pipe was 3-6 inches long and was often carried behind

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[11] Ibid., 23, 40.

[578] [12] This man, who was at outs with most of his neighbors at Dunlap in 1927, refused repeated requests to become an informant. Other Indians apologized for his unwillingness, although his refusals were made with the greatest tact.

[13] Latta, op. cit., 25.

[14] Mayfield claimed he had seen no clay or stone pipes of the Choinimni (ibid., 21).

796 ornaments they possessed. The women wore
756 eagle-down bands around their heads, necklaces
535 of humna beads, double deerskin aprons, and
[616] carried hand feathers (son·l) (fig. 8, b, Pt.I). All wore moiety face paint patterns, but these E.M. could not describe.

At first the shamans stood to one side dancing, each with a woman directly behind him. Then the six men filed in and danced around the fire, the doctors and women remaining in one place near it. The men used the "piston-rod" step, the women a hop with feet placed close
[533] together. The songs for this dance were from a special cycle which was not used on other occasions, but what they were about E.M. could not say.

535 Sweat house dance.---This dance (mosla´os-
[343] aho) is called by the name because it starts in the sweat house (mos) and is continued outside.
756 So far as E.M. knew there was no distinction in the nature of the performance inside and out. "The dance was started inside and then went outside where everyone could see because Eagle told the dancers they must dance indoors before going out" (see "Shaman's debut"). This dance was done at any time of the year.

The performers were shamans and two female dancers who might be of either moiety. The women were Si´lat and Wojil·t (the corpse-
[237] handler) (E.M.'s aunt). Besides the usual breechclout and deerskin apron, the dancers wore long strands of eagle-down rope wrapped around their waists, arms, and heads. The head-
535 band was a very wide one. Tokelyuwich parti-
756 cipants were supposed to look like Eagle; their
302 faces were painted solid red with white dots
616 scattered over it and three horizontal white stripes on their cheeks. The Nutuwich dancers had red faces with black spots, and a black area all around the mouth. Men and women were painted alike.

The only women who saw the dancing start in the sweat house were the women participants. People crowded around, not all could get in, and "the women were too bashful to push in."

535 Bear Dance.---This dance was called no´·n
796 ka´ma. Two Kechayi [Dumna?] brothers, Go´h·l and Te´e´wus, had power from Bear (noho´·n t·pni). They were not regarded as doctors, just men with a specific kind of supernatural power. Their dance was obviously comparable in its brevity, in its bearlike steps, and its
[184] winter (?) schedule, to that of the Wukchumni Bear Dance, but unlike it in its fire-handling display and in its lack of relation to the acorn crop.

The dance was done in the winter. Bear would tell the dancer to go far back in the mountains. There two bears would come to him during the night and hug him to protect him from the severe cold. He stayed out two nights and danced by himself. Then when he came in he danced publicly at night. Later the informant

[P. 186 9] Chuckchansi

STRUCTURES

343 Sweat house.--The Chukchansi sweat house was circular, some 18 to 20 feet in diameter. The floor was excavated about 3 feet, and the earth packed down hard. The supporting frame was of pine trunks about 5 inches thick (number not mentioned). The door was 4 or 5 feet high, 2 feet wide, with no door covering. A smoke hole was left in the center of the roof, which was about 8 feet high at that point.[100] The roof beams were of green live oak saplings, and on these was piled a thick layer of chaparral brush, leaves, and lastly earth. The fire was just within the door so that one had to jump over it in entering.

343 515 517 The usual sweat house held ten to twelve men sitting or lying close together. Very old and very young men did not use it. Some men slept there. For sweating they went there about 10 a.m. and about 3 to 4 p.m. After sweating they went to swim in a pool especially dug or enlarged for that purpose. At Gratniu (Picayune) there were two sweat houses in use: "you went to either one you wanted to." At Aplau, another Chukchansi village, there was but one sweat house.

● [533] There was no special ceremony on the completion of a sweat house. Men would gather there as soon as it was ready and just sing for pleasure, as an expression of happiness. The informant M.N. said that sometimes the hand [524] game was played inside and often men amused themselves by having a sweating contest; more and more wood was added to the fire until the last man was forced out by the intense heat.

No ceremony was held in the sweat house; no dancing, "just singing" (J.R.). As an ex- [533] ample of songs men sang in the sweat house, C.D. gave the following:

Go see
You too
I'm going up north
Go out
You too

Only men used the sweat house, according to most informants, but M.N. said, after the men got through and went out, women went in.

342 Dwellings.--The Chukchansi dwelling was a conical thatched house (fig. 5, c, d, Pt. I). When the circumference was laid out, usually about 12 to 14 feet in diameter, postholes about 18 inches apart were dug all around it. The space between the door poles, however, was about 8 inches wider than the rest. All in- [184] formants stated that the frame poles were bunched together at the top (the characteristic Yokuts hoop being absent), "so water couldn't [171] come through."[101] About four horizontal withes

[100] This sounds like the Miwok 4-post type. -- A.H.G.

[101] Kroeber, however, credits the Chukchansi conical house with a ring at the apex (Handbook, 522).

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529
[P. 202 9] Chukchansi

525 put the bones in their fists, which they gyrated rapidly, or put behind the back, ending by crossing their arms and holding their fists under each armpit. The guesser, on the opposite team, pointed at his chosen location for the white bone. If the guess was correct, the bones went to uhim (the guesser); if incorrect, one of ten counters was given the holder. When one guess was correct, but the second wrong, the holder became the next guesser. Score was kept by a scorekeeper who held ten counters. The partners first acquiring all ten counters won. Then they rested awhile, put up more stakes, and then began again. A crowd of on-
[606] lookers always stood by, carrying side bets. No moiety opposition was followed, according to J.R., who understood the moiety situation well. M.N. added that there might be several people on each side but only four active players at a
[533] time. There were many songs which these other members of the team sang. The holding side sang to try to confuse the guessers.

526 Shinny.---In this game, said M.N. a ball is hit with sticks toward goal holes about one-half mile apart. The holes are marked with posts. Each side defended its goal. The players stood between the posts. The ball, about 8 inches through, was of skin stuffed with grass.

Shinny variant.---A circular form of shinny was played with one goal hole about three inches in diameter. The ball was a "birch" knot.[139] Players stood in a circle, one side defending the hole, the other attempting to put the ball in it. The sticks were the usual ones of chaparral wood (Ceanothus, manzanita ?).

525 Shell dice game.---A curious game was described by M.N. It was a favorite of old people, especially women. Sand, in which there were a few shells, was filled into a circular tray. Then "two people turned the sand over with their hands. The one that does it best gets the stick (counter)." There are shells in the sand. The score is made according to how the shells fall. The winner would get a prize -- food, money, a nose ornament, or ear plugs with quail feather ornament, etc.

Stave dice.---A flat stick of elderwood, about five by one inches, was thrown with a handful of elderberries onto a flat surface. If the carved side of the stick was uppermost, the thrower won one point; if not, or if the stave was concealed by the berries, nothing was made, and the opponent took the next toss. This game was accompanied by songs.

526 Spear-throwing game.---A screen of boughs ten to fifteen feet high was erected, and on each side, some ten feet in front and behind it,

[824]

[139] The notch (sic) of wood is from a tree growing by the creek; it has white bark, dark slightly roundish green leaves. When the wind blows, the leaves rustle. The bark pulls off horizontally. The tree has dark colored little burrs on every limb. Thrall and interpreter suggest birch; probably sycamore. -- A.H.G.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 203 9] Chukchansi

Dancing

535 No specific dance performance was described, but J.R. gave a few generalities. Dancing groups were usually composed of four dancers and an accompanist singer. The dancers wore a loincloth [breechclout ?], feathers around the neck [sic], and something around the head "that looked kind of funny." They might [302 439] have specks of white paint on their faces, or sometimes red paint obtained from the Eastern Mono. Not all the dancers used red paint. Often the Miwok used it when they came over for a dance.

The dance steps were standardized. J.R. characterized those of the Chukchansi and the Yokuts of the San Joaquin River region as being done with an erect posture, immobile head, and heavy stamping step [the familiar Yokuts "piston rod" step]. The Miwok, he said, leaned forward, moved back and forth with a wiggling step, keeping the feet a little apart. (Miss Thrall suggests that this may have resembled a quick "grapevine" step.) There was a different movement for each song.

[534 533] The singer wore no paint nor feathers. His only instrument was the split elderwood clapper, about ten inches long. This was "waved up and down to make it crack while he was singing." The singer sang, then paused for an interval of rest.

GHOST DANCE OF 1870

764 344 There were three chiefs at Wasamo (near Ahwahnee).[241] This was where J.R.'s family "lived and died." There was a large burying ground there. Today (?) there is still a big round [dance] house which the three captains, assisted by a white man, built. The white man contributed some food for the builders.

622 796 When the chiefs wanted something done, they called their people to a big assembly fire. There were many people. If a festivity was planned, the chiefs said when it was to be, how long it was to last, and what singers, dancers, and guests should be told to come. Men were dispatched to get deer for food.

796 This kind of big time lasted about one week. The hosts provided the food. In the evening three or four men would dance, and sometimes as many women. Guests from other places also performed; each dance was said to [624] be different. There were certain men [dance managers] who went about giving instructions; the managers went in groups of three or four. [526] During the day games were enjoyed: footraces, football, hoop and pole played by the women, and the hand game by both sexes.

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[241] The location of Wasamo is uncertain. J.R., in this connection said "near Ahwahnee": "they were living at Ahwahnee, that is where they had that dance."

W Y 343 515 clusiveness. Women "never went near the place" (B.O.). The favorite time for sweating was the late afternoon, between returning from hunting or other duties of the day and the evening meal at sundown. After the sweat the men ran out to bathe, and then back into the sweat house, where a reduced fire dried them and prevented chill.

W Y [513] Single men slept in the sweat house but, whether sleeping there or at home, a man invariably rose with the morning star and went immediately to swim.

The single-post sweat house had the earth excavated for about one foot over its proposed floor surface. A forked center post was erected, and into its crotch were laid the ends of many straight poles very close together. The interstices were filled with still more slender willow rods. Then earth was piled over the whole. The doorway, which S.O. said "was small but you didn't have to wiggle or crawl through," was constructed as described above.

There was one fire directly inside the door. Anyone got wood or kept it burning: the winatum had no special duties in this respect. B.O. thought the single-post house held seven to ten men, a two-post house, eight to twelve. All men did not indulge: "some did not like it." When a visitor arrived, he would be offered a sweat. Women "did not go very close" to the sweat house. If a woman wanted a man who was in there, she would send a boy or male relative for him.

A breechclout was not worn, nor any type of penis-protector; if the heat was too intense, the hands were held over the organ. Kneeling posture was maintained while sweating.

"Any man who wanted to could build a sweat house, but he always asked the tia'a [chief] first." There were two small ones (single-post) and one large one (2-post) at Tuŏao. A new one was seldom put up before an old one burned or showed signs of decay.

W Y 515 ● 533 No dancing was done in the sweat house, but singing was frequent. Some good singer (ile'kᵢč) would lead in singing songs used outdoors to accompany dancing; there were no special songs for the sweating occasion. Often a man would go in there to play the flute (u'ṭač). This pastime was particularly popular when men were sleeping there all night.

Dress and Bodily Ornament

W Y 291 [439] Footgear.---Normally people went barefoot. Some men had deerskin moccasins (name not recalled) which were bought from the Eastern Mono. S.O. could not describe the pattern clearly: it was cut in one piece with the fold on the inside of the foot, the seam on the outside, and had a long flap as a tongue.

No sandal of leather or fibre material had ever been seen or heard of by S.O.

EP. 242 Weston Wendo NS 25

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S.O. woke up instantly and saw the birds as they flew off.[182] He went directly to the spring and, as he had no eagle-down cord (pisesan) with him, he dipped his hands in the water to put it on himself. While doing so he addressed the water: "Mǎčɨt [hummingbird][183] told me to use you. Now I will be well in the morning. I come to you. I am talking to you. Now I am all right."

He returned to the house but did not sleep: "What I dreamt was right there with me" [keeping it on his mind]. When daylight came, he ate no breakfast but told his wife and children to eat without him. Understanding, they made no comment. Then he went out into the woods and walked around until midday. Then he again addressed his dream [the hummingbirds] saying: "Now I am all right. Everything is gone." Then he came home. He ate only acorn mush that day. Thereafter he was well.

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2. According to S.O., water is a powerful curing medium. He considers it immortal "because it is everywhere and never dies." Often he has "dreamed of springs and gone to talk to them in the night." One such dream was this.

He was standing near a spring of water. The water "began to rise up as if it were going to pull me in." This S.O. regarded as a sign that the spring wanted him to use it as an ainɨč (curing talisman). As soon as he awoke he went directly to a nearby spring. He said: "You help me as long as I live. If I get sick I'll use you to help me. If someone else gets sick I'll use you to cure him. I dream about you. You are mine!"

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S.O. has used water in curing himself many times. He cured Sam Calhoun's wife with it, and reported the following instance.

Sometime after this Tom Tyner's baby swallowed some kind of seed. Its abdomen began to swell up. They didn't know what to do for it. Finally they sent for S.O., who was known to have a little power. When he arrived, the child was "nearly dead." The eagle-down cord which he had with him S.O. dipped in a little basket of water and rubbed over the baby's belly. This was late in the evening. The following morning the swelling had diminished and the child recovered.

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3. All dreams did not involve songs, but all curing songs were so derived. After the death of S.O.'s wife and sons he mourned continually. Nothing could console him. He didn't even think of getting dream help. He couldn't sleep.

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[182] This was one of the many occasions on which, regrettably, I did not ask S.O. if he had yet lost his sight.

[183] Untranslatable; refers to hummingbird but is not the usual term. It may be one of the "old time" mythical names, encountered in myths. S.O. could not explain its use.

EP. 242 [illegible] NS25

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One night when he was staying with a friend he fell asleep suddenly. Then Night spoke to him chidingly, saying that S.O. was treating him badly, ignoring his efforts to help him. Then "he gave me a song to make me happy and told me to sing it whenever I felt sad." [It is in Michahai.]

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[539]

hunai ´'awi·[184] [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa·´na· [repeat 3 times]
all right my world

hi´am na mum taw‹´nši
now I am sorry

hunu´mšu na
to be too weak to move from prolonged fasting I

hunai ´'awi· [repeat 3 times]

ta´wapun pa´'ana· [repeat 3 times]

S.O. woke up instantly and began singing the song lest he "lose it." His friend awoke asking what was the matter. But S.O. continued to sing; he ate no breakfast and later he went out to talk to Night in solitude. He said: "Give me well-being, Night." [‹niša´man wa·ni'i´nwa toiyo ni; ‹nsiš is "good," prosperity, satisfaction; perhaps "blessing" would best fit in the phrase. Any other name, Water, Cougar, etc., could be substituted in this phrase, which was standardized.]

S.O.'s friend said nothing about his behavior; he understood. Thereafter S.O. was happy and he sang the song whenever he began to feel depressed.

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4. Not all dreams were accepted, since a dreamer might not want the type of power proffered. As an example of this S.O. related the following. He dreamed it some years ago; he said it was a common type, that he had dreamed it more than once and that many other people had experienced it.

He dreamed he was walking along somewhere off in the hills. He sat down on a rock. Immediately it began to grow. It kept rising until he "was about fifty feet up in the air." He wondered how he was going to get down. He looked all around, and was afraid to move for fear of falling off. Finally he discovered that a live oak tree was growing right beside the rock. So he climbed into it and made his way down. As soon as he reached the ground the rock shrank to normal size.

Although S.O. did not want to use this dream, he addressed it as a matter of respect.

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[184] S.O. could not translate this word, saying "it just meant 'let me go' or 'don't trouble about me,'" which does not seem at all applicable. He said the word was always repeated three times in a reciprocal greeting between dreamer and dream helper.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P. 250 b] Western Mono US 25

W Y 769 184

Tušao, but never at Čitatu; the Chukaimina and Entimbich "had this dance on Sunday night" (B.O.). That is, these spectacles, if presented at all, followed the washing and served as part of the postritual celebration: they were not an integral part of the mourning ceremony but an irregular addition.

W Y 769 [533 767]

During the six days of the ceremonial week the mourning families gathered morning and evening at the assembly fire to weep. Two or three paid singer-weepers, secured and paid by the host group, performed at the same time. They were not berdaches; they were called ya´kohovi´e´roti, (Waksachi). One well-known singer was named Šie´mil:t. Also during the week the women of the mourning families made the effigy dolls (woi´loša, Michahai; u·narira´gaikan, Waksachi).

On the sixth [Saturday] evening after supper the local chief called together the families who had instigated the ceremony and collected money from them, which was to be given to the visitors. If the sum was deficient, and apparently it usually was, a few men called tuye´´i [Yokuts word], previously selected by the chief, made up the deficit.

"Then everyone cried all night." The visiting chief told his winatum to make a fire, at which his people gathered. The host or mourning group, headed by their chief, were already at their own fire, where they wept continually. The visiting chief made a speech, exhorting the mourners to grieve no more, saying that this ceremony was being made to end their sorrow, and so on. Twice during the night, at approximately 10 p.m. and 1 a.m., the mourning group left their own fire to make a circuit of the other. These people were not dressed in any special way, rather they exhibited the dishevelment of mourning. Led by the chief, the men went first, carrying dolls representing deceased male relatives, and then the women with female dolls. The sex of the effigy was indicated by its clothing. Other members of the group carried clothes, beads, and baskets, "for the dead"; these would later be thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. Two circuits of the fire were made, then came a rest period during which the visiting chief again harangued the assemblage. On the next parade around the fire (1 a.m.) one circuit was made and then, according to individual choice, the dolls and valuable paraphernalia were either thrown on the fire or given to the visitors. S.O. said, "Everyone does what he pleases but most gave away." He also mentioned a difference in the practice of giving: the visitors were made to line up, whereupon the Wukchumni practice was to throw the gifts toward the recipients who seized what they could, whereas the Waksachi practice was to call over each person to receive his present. At this time the baskets of money for the visitors were given to their chief, who distributed it.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

went on his errand. To resume human shape a plunge into the same pool was necessary.

The long period of training before full power is attained seems characteristic for Yokuts bear shamans, as for Yuki.

A bear doctor's song:

Again he comes,
Again the grizzly bear comes to me.

A shaman named Mayemai dreamed that his father sang to him:

Listen to me,
Mayemai!
There in the east
I shall emerge
Twirling
My hand feathers.

An eagle dance song, originally dreamed:

The earth quakes.
See my eagle
Emerging at the open place!

Coyote songs, dreamed, and perhaps also of moiety totemic reference:

Whirling in front of you,
It is mourned for,
The rope of our world

I am coyote,
We are coyotes.
The earth told them,
The earth said:
You shall not continually scratch me.

Coyote said:
What am I?
I am coyote.
I am of the water.
What am I?
I am coyote.

The frankness of these songs in allusions to the supernatural experience and mention of the guardian, and that in words which are far less altered to fit the rhythm than is customary in California, is remarkable.

The doctor's initiation dance of northern California has not been referred to among the Yokuts and seems not to have been practiced.

DISEASE AND CURE.

Three principal methods of curing disease are followed, besides the administration of herbs and parts of animals. Sucking the disease object, a pebble or bit of something, is universal. This is linked

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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with bloodletting and singing. The Tachi class themselves with the northern tribes as addicted to the former, the southerners as specialists in the latter. A good southern doctor can even kill by his song or restore the dead to life, provided he is summoned in time. Bloodletting was often joined with sucking. The skin was cut, and first blood and then the disease object drawn out. Among the Chukchansi, who have women practitioners as well as men, the inferior shamans sucked only blood. Cuts between the eyes were commonly made for headache, sleepwalking, and other chronic but light ailments. Most of the Chukchansi even to-day carry several such scars.

The use of irritants was not unknown. For stomach ache ants were applied to the abdomen; if the pain did not yield, the insects were wrapped in eagle down and swallowed.

His pipe was one of the resources of a doctor; he could cause sickness by blowing tobacco smoke, and perhaps cure by the same method.

The shaman's rattle was the usu[al] California one, but was a little thing with but one or two cocoo[ns] (fig. 37, *a*.) Occasionally a larger number of cocoons were tie[d] a mass of feathers. (Fig. 37, *f*.) A favorite habit was for th[e] doctor to sing softly to himself before lying down to sleep.

The repeatedly unsuccessful medicine man stood in danger of his own life, and it appears that violence was the end of members of the profession as often as among most California tribes. Even to-day American law has not entirely extirpated this system of reprisal. In the early reservation days at Tejon a Yauelmani shaman bewitched a Yaudanchi so that he awoke crazed and soon died. When the Yaudanchi slew the poisoner the Yauelmani were incensed at the summary fate of their compatriot. But one of their chiefs restrained them and they laid down their bows, which seems to have been the end of the matter except for talk.

BEAR SHAMANS.

The bear doctor did not cure disease, though there is a recorded instance of one who eased his daughter's childbirth by giving her bear's hair to drink. On the other hand, the Chukchansi accused bear doctors of making their private enemies ill by shooting little stones into them. Only the Tachi attributed particular curative powers to the song and dancing of the bear doctor. In fact the function of this class of shamans, other than as exhibitors of their powers, is not clear. They were difficult to keep killed; but they seem not to have been dreaded marauders or ferocious fighters as among the Pomo and Yuki. In the hunt, a shaman of this class might enter the retreat of a skulking bear to rout him out.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

Much the same must be said of music, only in a still stronger degree. Some differences of external form, or involved system, are apparent between the songs of various parts of California. But as long as no exact analysis has been rendered, and especially as long as no one has approached this music with any desire to enter into its essential spirit, comparisons between the aesthetic value of the inclinations and achievements of this and that tribe are empty.

Southern Yokuts men sometimes played the musical bow after settling themselves in bed; the Chukchansi in mourning the dead. These may be but two expressions of one employment. Modern forms of the instrument have a peg key for adjusting the tension, or are made on cornstalks. In old days a true shooting bow, or a separate instrument made on the model of a bow, was used. *Mawu*, or *mawuwi*, was its name. One end was held in the mouth, while the lone string was tapped, not plucked, with the nail of the index finger; the melody, audible to himself only, was produced by changes in the size of the resonance chamber formed by the player's oral cavity.

THE TYPE OF YOKUTS CIVILIZATION.

The affiliations of Yokuts civilization are nearly equal in all directions. To the north, their system of totemic moieties connects them with the Miwok while certain detailed elements of their culture, such as the Y-frame cradle and the magpie headdress, link them definitely with the Maidu. To the east their twined basketry has close relations as far as the remoter edge of the Great Basin. Toward the Shoshonean and Yuman south there are innumerable threads: the Jimson weed ritual, the arrow straightener, the carrying net, to mention only a few. Toward the west the decay of Salinan and Chumash culture makes exact comparison difficult, but what little is known of the former people evidences a strong Yokuts impress, while with the nearer Chumash relations of trade were close and must have brought many approaches of custom in their train. It is difficult to say where the most numerous and most basic links stretch.

Equally impressive, however, are the features distinctive of the civilization of the Yokuts, or rather of the group composed of themselves and their smaller and less known Shoshonean neighbors on the immediate east and south. These specialties include the true tribal organization, the duality of chieftainship, the regulated functions of transvestites, the coordinated animal pantheon, the eagle-down skirt, the constricted coiled basket, a distinctive pottery, and the communal house, to mention only a few points.

It thus seems that the Yokuts were a nation of considerable individuality. It appears throughout California that the dwellers in

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

to scatter, they were turned by the Indian fence and forced into a frightened, milling mass.

One Indian from each tribe or, if only one tribe was present, one Indian from each family, was allowed to enter the circle for the purpose of killing antelope. It is explained that if too many persons were allowed to begin shooting, the line would soon be broken and practically all of the antelope escape. The meat was carried home. Some of it was cooked at once and eaten fresh. The remainder of it was dried for future use.

There is one interesting detail in connection with the surround. It concerns the superstition of the huntsmen regarding the killing of antelope in this way. Sometimes, as the running antelope passed one of the Indians who was doing the shooting, a sharp whistling sound was heard.

Whether this whistle was caused by the passage of the running animal through the air, or by his breathing, is unknown, but the Indians regarded this noise as of great significance. They would not shoot an antelope from which this sound seemed to come. They said it was made by the ghost of *Peek'-ook,* the little Ground Owl, which after death selected some particular antelope to guard. This attitude on the part of the hunters can be better understood when it is known that the Ground Owl was the represenatitve of the *Ahanich,* or professional singers, who performed at the *Lonewis,* or annual ceremony for the dead.

SNARING AND STALKING

Snaring was one of the most interesting and clever Yokuts methods of taking game. We are assured by Indians and pioneer white settlers that almost all kinds of game were taken in this way, ranging in size from the ground squirrel to the elk.

The method of snaring was practically the same for all animals. A twig or limb was bent downward and fastened in place by a trigger. Attached to the trigger was a loop made of waxed string, or heavy cord. The loop was placed over a trail, or run-way, or in the mouth of a burrow in such a way that the game would pass part way through it and become entangled in it. As the animal struggled to free itself, the trigger was released and the branch sprang up-right, lifting the game partly or entirely from the ground, where it soon strangled.

In snaring small game a wythe was generally used. The larger end of it was thrust into the ground and the tip bent

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789 eral Indians working on the ranch as vaqueros. One of them saw the stone when I showed it to the other vaqueros. He told
778 the man who had hung it out what I had done and the next day the owner came to me for it. Our vaquero explained to me that it was *tripne* (supernatural) and why it had been hung in the tree."

The above account was verified by Frank Bequette, another early resident of the same locality, and by numerous other settlers around Tulare, Kern, Buena Vista, Goose and Summit Lakes, as well as the streams which flowed into those bodies of water. But there was little or no printed reference to Yokuts charm-stones. There seemed to be more mystery than information about them.

789 About 1930 I first interviewed Mrs. Josie Alonzo, of Han-
778 ford. Her Indian name was *Yoimut* and she was the last full-
124 blood survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe of Yokuts. Yoimut knew much about the Yokuts Rainmaker's charm-stones. Below is a portion of the information she furnished about them.

"I had an uncle named *Teh-nih'-pahs.* He was a real old Indian with long hair with beads in it. He was a *Wowol* (Wo'-wol). I learned his song that went with the *unuk.* He put a little water on the unuk before he sang to make it rain. If he dipped it in the water and then sang and danced, he could bring a flood. He was Tripne. If he had real bad luck he would throw his unuk in the lake, maybe off of boat, maybe from shore.

"The unuk was a long pretty stone. It was round and smooth and had a little head at one end. This is the song he sang with his dance while he held the unuk in one hand:

[539
533] *Toke'-un lih'-nuh* *Wa-tin-hin* *nah* *Yo'*
(west side) (straight path) (me) (to mark time)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *Ah-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(Wo-wol village) (this is I) (charm stone) (over you)

"He sang this song over and over as he danced. West Side was the name of the song. It meant 'I, the charm stone, am over you, showing you the straight path to Hiyoumne, the old Wowol village'. It had a very pretty tune.

"Lots of Indian Doctors tried to learn this song. They wanted to be Tripne Rain Doctors. They tried to sing it, but never learned it right. I heard them sing lots of times, but I

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"But Puslilin already got one hundred dollars silver pay, so he go 'head anyway. Them Uhdukut snake doctors got to pay Puslilin that money. It take almost all money them doctors got from doctorin' them people. But they got to pay him anyway to show they can sure cure snake bite. Chechin tell Puslilin, 'Well, you goin'to die tonight'. Puslilin squeeze that snake head and throw it on the ground. It strike him on both hands. Then that Uhdukut take his snake and put it back in his Tawits basket. Then Puslilin fall down.

"Two Uhdukut doctors take Puslilin to his bed where that squirrel fall. They begin to doctor him. They work on him all night. They tie one *pisasin*, eagle down string, around each arm below his shoulder. Then doctors have all them people yell so Puslilin can't go to sleep and die. About sun-up Puslilin get better, so all them people stop yellin'. But Puslilin lost one finger that rattlesnake bit."

Tawpnaw, an aged Wukchumne, saw six rattlesnake dances. His story verifies those of Ichow and Pohut and adds a few details which are related below:

"When them Wukchumne snake doctors get ready for that rattlesnake dance they paint their faces. They paint white and red stripes across faces. They put three red and three white stripes on each cheek. Some tribe doctors paint stripes across arms, chest, too.

"When that dance all over, them people don't get snake-bit all summer. If Indian man hunt deer, rattlesnake won't bite him. If Indian woman gather seeds, rattlesnake won't bite 'em. If rattlesnake do bite 'em, them Indian snake doctor got to cure 'em free.

"Them Indian snake doctors keep snakes in *awsuh* [bottle-necked stitched baskets]. When they first catch snakes they put 'em in chawmish [blackberry gathering twined basket]. I see that all time. I know that's right."

As this manuscript is being completed there is one Yokuts man living who attended the rattlesnake dances and who remembers how they were conducted. He is *Wahumchah*, a Yowlumne. He adds to the foregoing descriptions the rattlesnake doctor's song. This song is about a rattlesnake who is crawling on the ground and looking up at a magpie nest in a tree. He wants to eat the young birds in the nest, but he cannot climb the tree. Wahumchah has explained that the Yokuts songs do not have the same words as the rest of the language.

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[539]

Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-hah*
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We are crying)
Wuk'-e le'-o *We-ah'-ah-hah*
(We cry again) (We are crying)
Ah-hah-now'-uh *We-ah'-ah-hah*

When the song was done they all clapped their hands together and pointed at each other in time with each other.

They had men to lead the singing. All the people sang together. The lead singers were called *Ah-ha'-nitch*. We paid them to sing. There were about six at my father's Lonewis. They were painted black on their face, and stomach, too. They had white spots on their face and white stripes across their stomach. [533] [302]

All of the time until the Lonewis was over, all day and all night, some one was singing, someone was crying, someone was dancing.

The second night the *Hohuno* (Ho-hoo'-no) danced. This was the first night the big fire was lit. Hohuno was dressed in a long pretty blue dress that covered his head and reached to the ground. The Winatun dressed him. We children were all afraid of him. His Indian name was *Huyupah* (Hoo-yoo'-pah).

The part of the dress that went over Honuno's head was made of the smooth skin and feathers from a fish crane. It fitted close to his head and was so smooth not a feather was out of place, except two feather horns on each side like a horned owl. On the front were fastened two large round pieces of abalone shell for eyes. They were just above his eyes. He had peek-holes right under them. When he came close to us he would lean over and look at us with those big eyes and we would almost die. 159 769 292 237

From the shoulder down the dress was loose. Long, blue wing feathers from fish cranes were fastened to a loose skirt of strings. These feathers could swing loose as Hohuno danced. They were fastened about the middle so they would fly around like birds when he danced.

On his back, fastened across his shoulders, was a stick. About ten short pieces of bamboo hung loose from the stick. The pieces of bamboo were the size of a pencil, maybe a little bigger. When he danced, Hohuno would jerk his shoulders and make the bamboo sticks rattle together. 159 769 293

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They took the stuffed clothes back into the house this fourth night. They did not burn them. Then some of the people sang and cried and danced until the next night.

The fifth night about midnight they brought out the same stuffed clothes and marched around and around the fire singing the same song. But this time they threw everything in the fire.

Just before they burned everything the Winatun threw small dry oak limbs on the fire to make a big blaze. Then the chief called, "He'-ahm tahn'-hin," and they threw everything in the fire, almost all at once. The fire was almost covered up with stuffed clothes, baskets, and things that had belonged to the dead people.

The Ahanich (professional singers) had the right to catch anything they could as it was thrown on the fire. If they caught it, or could grab it out of the fire before it was burned, it belonged to them. Sometimes they got a whole suit of clothes, sometimes they got good baskets.

It was all right for the Ahanich to keep the clothes and wear them. But they had to get them to their camp before the person who threw them in could catch hold of them. If the Ahanich was caught, he had to give the things back to the person who had thrown them in and then that person could keep them and use them, or wear them. They did not need to be burned if the Ahanich caught them or took them out of the fire.

When the things were first thrown on the fire there was a good chance to take some out without getting burned. But in just a few seconds everything was on fire. We stood back and tried to throw the things over the Ahanich's heads into the middle of the fire.

I remember that one Ahanich caught a fine basket, one like they made just to burn. He ran for his camp. The lady who had thrown it in caught him, but he pulled loose and ran on. They quarreled about it and the Teah took the basket and threw it back in the fire.

By daylight everything was burned up and only a few people were singing and crying around their own fires. They kept that up all day.

My mother worked hard to get the money to buy the clothes to burn in the fire for my father. She washed for the Blankenships and for Mrs. "Fish" Rice. But you white people do the same thing. You save money and dress dead people in good clothes. You spend lots of money for coffin.

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moved them from our shoulders down at each step. We stepped to the left. After we got tired we just dragged one foot and then the other. Some carried little baskets of beads and threw them on the ground as they danced. We danced around and around in the same place all of the time and made a deep ditch in the ground. It was a new dance to us. It was different from the *Lonewis* (Lo-nee'-wis) dance.

About six or seven *Ahanich* (Ah-ha'-nitch) [professional singers] led the singing. The Indian doctors wore skirts and feather hats and danced around with the rest of us. The main song that they sang went like this:

Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
(I will be anything)
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah-nah nahn' een'-ah nah'-ni
Hah'-nah nahn' een'-ah a - a
[repeat indefinitely]

I do not know all of the words, but they mean something like, "I will be anything, crow, rock, stick, rattlesnake, or anything, if our dead people come back."

All of the time we expected to see our dead people come back. We got tired, but we danced six days and nights. Once a small girl did not want to dance, but her mother made her dance anyway. After awhile the girl left the circle and went to her mother's camp. She lay down and died. The doctors worked over her for an hour or two and brought her back to life. They got a pine tree top and stood it up on her breast. Then they called all of us girls to watch her. The doctors blew on her forehead and she finally awakened.

The mother asked the girl who had died what she had seen. We thought maybe she had seen some of her dead people. But she said, "Nothing." Then she was all right again. The girl's name was *Ne-he'-ut*. She is still living at Rio Chiquito over near Kern River.

When the dance was almost over, Pleas Work and his brother, and "Club-foot" Guthrie and an Indian named *Ho'-sawm* came and told us that the white people were coming to kill all of us. We were afraid of the white people all of the time, so we all ran away into the timber and mountains. This was before the last night of the dance was over. We left without either our grub or our clothes.

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159 291 cape in place. A feather made a good pin. It never came out and it was easy to get.

They also used a kind of cap, or hood, in real cold weather. It was made of rabbit skin. I never saw but two or three of them. We had cloth caps, or bonnets, when I was a girl.

159 304 Lots of the old Chunut people made a hole through their nose and put a bone or stick through it. They called the hole in their nose *so-kil'-hah rah*. The nose stick was *traw-raw'-ke*.

Some Indians made black marks on their faces, too. They [134] cut their faces with a *kots* (obsidian) arrow point, and rubbed powdered charcoal in it. You white people call this tattoo. [302] But I do not think the Chunut ever did this. They painted their face marks. For painting they used red, white, and black paint.

159 386 438 The black paint was called *sih'-mik*. We traded for it. It came from near Stokes Mountain. We used to burn it and grind it in a small mortar. It was black and shiny [graphite]. Some of the Indian doctors used the sihmik to paint for their dances, but I do not know just how they used it. That was their own business. When somebody died in our family we painted [765] our cheeks under our eyes with sihmik and the *Chumlus* (Choom-loos) washed it off after the *Lonewis* (Lo-ne'-wis).

159 531 The men used to paint their bows and arrows. They used red, white, and black. and some other color they got from berries. I never knew how to do that.

[386] The old-time Chunut Indians once told me that they used to paint some of their baskets, too, but I never saw them. The old-time Chunut baskets were not nice like the Wukchumne [438] baskets. We made them out of tules. We bought the mountain Indian baskets from the Indians who made them.

159 372 The Chunuts made fire with two sticks. They called them *toom*. One stick they held on the ground with their feet. The other they rolled between their hands. They called this rolling *wa-li'-uh*. When the sticks got hot they put ground dry tule dust in to make fire. They called this dust *pel-pel'-its*.

YOIMUT'S STORY
CHUNUT SONGS AND GAMES

159 524 533 My people had lots of songs and games. Sometimes there were two or three songs for each game. They had a nice smooth place at their village where somebody played games all the time. They had lots of fun.

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hands and rolled out on the tiwon. When all flat sides were down they called *keel'-pah*. That counted four points. Two flat sides up counted one point and they called *pawn'-yo*. Three flat sides down were one point. This was called *yeat'-suh*. All flat sides up counted two points and they called *chahl'-ahl*. Two flat sides down or one up lost the dice and the other side took them. As they threw the dice they clapped their hands together and waved them back and forth above the rolling dice to make them come up right and called *e-lake'*.

There was a song that went with the Huchuish game but I have forgotten it. I never did play it much. I was too busy. I had to work too much. Sometimes the games would go two days. They gambled at it. Men never played it.

We children used to play a game at water tag called *Tuewats* (Too'-e-wats). We started out with one person called *Tue* (Too'-e). He had to catch the rest. You had to stay in the water or in a tree over the water. If you stepped on the dry ground you were Tue right away. Tue called, "*Too-yahl'-mum he-ahm*," meaning "Tag me if you can." As soon as Tue tagged one person that person had to help him catch the rest. It went that way until they all caught the last one.

We children played a coyote game, too. It was like an old story my mother used to tell me. It was called *Hih'-suh Na'-es*, just like the story. The Wowol called it *Hih'-ke*. *Kiyoo* was "it." He had to sit on the ground. He could not run around. He partway shut his eyes, but it was all right for him to peek. He was supposed to.

The other children would run around and around him and up close to him and then away. They were supposed to touch him if they could. If Kiyoo could reach out quick and catch one of them he had to sit on the ground behind Kiyoo like he was dead and wait until all were caught.

While the game was going on we all sang a little song over and over. It went

Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Hih'-suh Na'-es,
Wus'-wus.

The old Hihsuh Naes story went like this:

In the old days there were lots of little yellow birds that played in the tules and sunflowers around Tulare Lake. We called them *Taw-tawk'-its*. The white people called them gold-

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539 finch. One of the birds would sit on *pahn*, the ground. He was "it" like in hide-and-go-seek. The others would peck at him.

A'-nis, my Grandfather, used to say that the Tawtawkits birds were playing an old game that was played by the old-time bird and animal *Yo'-kuts* [people] before the Indians came to California. One bird would sit on the ground and close its eyes. The rest would fly close to it. Then *Weutoi* (We'-oo-toi), the bird on the ground, would peck at them. If it pulled out *te-pit'-pil* [feathers], that bird must sit on pahn, the ground, beside it until all the rest of Weutoi, the birds, were caught. Then the game began all over.

Once, in the old days, the Tawtawkits were playing their game and *Ki'-yu*, the Coyote, came along. He said, "What are you people doing?"

The birds answered, "We are playing Hihsuh Naes."

"Let me play that game," said Kiyu.

Kiyu was *he-ow'-trah* [mean] and the birds were afraid to come near him. He shut his eyes only part way and said, "Come close to me. Come close to my nose. Do not be afraid. I will not hurt you. Come on." Soon Tawtawkits began fluttering about Kiyu's nose. Soon he snapped one from the air and swallowed it. Then he called again to the birds to come closer still.

Again Kiyu caught and ate a Tawtawkits. After the third bird had been eaten, the birds began to talk among themselves. They said, "Where did those other birds go? They are not on the ground beside Kiyu. Kiyu is heowtrah. He must have eaten them." So Tawtawkits would not play with Kiyu any more.

Kiyu still wanted to play, but finally he went on along a trail until he came to *lah'-pah*, the cotton tree. He sat down under lahpah to rest. He saw *top'-top*, the leaf, come fluttering down. Then two more came whirling down. "I can do that," said Kiyu. He climbed up high in the tree and jumped to the ground. He fell on his face and was killed, *Kiyu tow'-it-se* [coyote is dead].

159 My people had lots of songs. Once I knew almost all of
● 533 them. My mother used to sing them. Now I remember only a few. The one I remember best was called *Wih-la'-litch We'-peh*, the lizard song. The little white-grey lizard of *Chaw-law'-win*, the plains, sang this song. *Wihlalitch* was an *Ahn'-troo* Doctor, but he wanted to be *Trip'-ne* [supernatural].

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Wihlalitch sang over and over:

O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
(I am supernatural)
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home'-ah Trip'-ih-ne

Tim'-tim, the bat, heard Wihlalitch singing. He was jealous because he wanted to be Tripne, too. So he sang back:

O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
O-home!-ah Trip'-ih-ne
Nah-ah'-hah Trip-ih-ne

The song of *Tim-tim*, the bat, meant, "You are not magic. You are of the ground. I am magic. I am of the air."

YOIMUT'S STORY

YOKUTS LAKE LIFE

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When I was about ten years old my mother married again. Her husband had relatives at *Waiu*, the village where Santa Rosa Rancheria is now near Armona, at the Tejon Ranch, and at Tule River Reservation. My mother did not want to stay at *Soo-law-lahn'-ne* on the "Fish" Rice ranch any longer, so we all went over to Armona.

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This was while the soldiers were at Visalia and the white people were having a big war. My stepfather's brother had two small horses and a little wagon. He worked for Mr. Rice for two or three years to buy them. He took us to Armona. We all stayed at Armona for about one month.

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None of us liked it at Armona then. There were lots of *Tachi* there and we knew it was their place and that we did not belong there. So my stepfather and his brother took us to the lake to fish and camp for awhile.

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We drove to the mouth of Cross Creek. There about six of us, my mother and stepfather, my brother *Weh'-pees*, myself, my stepfather's brother and an Indian who belonged at Armona. We camped at Cross Creek for a week. Then we moved around to the Buzzard's Roost. This was a real old *Chunut* village where my mother had once lived for a few months when she was first married. I am not sure about the name of this place, but it was either *Heuumne* (He-oo-um'-ne) or *Chuntow* (Choon'-tow). Both places were close together. I think it was Heuumne.

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The people who wanted to trade carried their things in baskets on their backs. They had to have their *Teah* (Te'-ah), chief with them. When they came up to trade they marched up in a straight line from each side. The Teah was in front.

When the two parties got close to each other they all took hold of the basket straps at the sides of their heads and swung from side to side, singing:

Ho-hoo'-hoo Yoo-'nah
(sung five times)
Hah-ha'

He-ke'-mah was the name of that song. That was the name of the trade too.

When the song was done each one took his basket down and spread his things on the ground in front of him. The rows of things were about ten feet apart. Then the trade started. The Teahs did all of the talking for their people. They talked to each other and agreed how much each could have. It was all done by rules.

Kahnte told me that his people used to trade off fish, *kots* [obsidian], salt grass salt, and some seeds. Sometimes they traded *kuts* (koots, soapstone) beads. They brought back shell beads and sea shells, *Traw'-neck* [abalone], *Cawm-sool* [clam], and *Caw'-sool* [olivella, or periwinkle]. Kahnte told me about a funny dried thing that one of his men got in a trade. I know now it was a star fish.

In the old days the Indians who lived by the lakes got their drinking water from the lakes. Around the edge of the lakes the water was muddy and hot. The Indian women used to take a basket and wade out into the lakes until the water was about four feet deep. Then they sunk the basket to the bottom upside down. Then they turned the basket over and filled it. The water at the bottom was lots cooler than on top and it tasted lots better, too.

Now Tulare Lake is dry. My old people told me that once it dried up a long time ago. The creeks all dried up too. My people had to go to their friends at the hills. Some of them went up Deep creek. They almost died before they got water about where Farmersville is now.

You ask me, "Will Tulare Lake ever fill up again?" I got only one thing to say. Yes. It will fill up full and everybody living down there will have to go away. I like to see that time myself. [it filled again in 1938]

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159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake. But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut [eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton, cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton. They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
[533 539] when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:

Toke'-uh lih'-nuh *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
(west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)
Indian village)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of improvidence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through from season to season without being in want. How generally true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who still remained suffered less during the recent depression than many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality, nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yaudanchi

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1. Mourning-ceremony song.

yèwò yèwò
ahanè

2. The same.

yò waxāle
ahanè

3. The same. Last song of the ceremony.

yōuyahè
wīāhè

Ah is Yaudanchi for crying in mourning, waxil in other dialects; yōuyahè is said to be from yuy, to thrust or motion toward, as during this song the dancers motion toward the fire; wīāhè is said to be from the stem wi, to say.

4. Ohowish ceremony song. Wükchamni.

wita	t'ŏpŭk	yo	nahaate
said	beaver	and	other

wita	tañ	wo	ohòwite-u	t'uiju	ma-nan
said	him		ohowish-medicine-man	shot	you me

ama	ohòwite	maya	ma-nan	t'uiju
then	ohowish-medicine-man	self	you me	shot

5. Rattlesnake ceremony song.

wita	tan	goloñkil	t·ōōd
told	him	king-snake	to-rattlesnake

am-nan	piteiu[1]
not me	touch

a-ma	haa	hawad'i
not you	anything	can-do

dok'on	teixae
belly-full	(ile)

doxmadhin	t·ōōd
(rush-pile)	rattlesnake

am-nan	piteiu
not me	touch

wita	a-ma	haa	hawad'i
said	not you	anything	can-do

tiñelhan	ma	t·ōōd
squirrel-hole-many	you	rattlesnake

[1] Handle, catch, take, stop.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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Yaudanchi

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dok'on belly-full	teixae-ma (lie) you	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
ma you	ti-nan (what) me	haudihi can-do?
yapkanhin many-trees	t·ööd rattlesnake	
te'ineu shade	teixae (lie)	
a-ma not you	haa anything	hawad'i can-do
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	
te'odwonhin plains	t·ööd rattlesnake	
te'ododin white	ma you	enea eye
opodnid sun-shines-on	min your	
am-nan not me	piteiu touch	

The language is Yaudanchi. Several interesting forms occur. 193
Opodnid is perhaps the continuative of an intransitive derivative 539
from the word sun: opodo, -in, -ad. The collectives in -hin and -han have not been found otherwise in Yaudanchi, but recall the inanimate collective -hal of Yauelmani. The informant once said tiñel-hal for tiñel-han. The latter he translated "squirrel town." In addition to the forms given in the song, namely, yapkan-hin from yapkin, hud doxnad-hin and te'odwon-hin, he also used the word bokdo-hin, "where many springs." As spring is bokid, the ending -hin is in this word added to the locative suffix. None of the nouns in question are capable of taking an ordinary plural. The forms -hin and -han have some appearance of being possessives.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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6. Dancing song, said to be in archaic Chunut dialect.

wèhè yōhō
woho yoho

na kilitcau hoyoji p'ana
I named earth

kalagawiw
(invisible)

widāta not'
east

walan-iho
yesterday

7. An old dancing song of the Tachi Indians.

hanuk-u teipin-ĕwe
who knows

yèha
yoha

xomòt-i mĭy-a tān-iyo
south we go

yèha
yoha

pinèt'iux na teay-e
oak I down-feather

Teipin, Yaudanchi t-ipni, is wonderful, supernatural.

8. Said to be a Tachi song.

xami xami wuala kè na
(sound) (sound) stand (this) I

nan ki ma panahin teipni
me (this) you (arrive) supernatural-power

nĭyu
nayu

9. Said to be a Tachi song.

wèhè yoho
woho yoho

nan-a go ma ha wiihin
me you (do not mind)

ĕkak tcan-a witebpa
see (that-distant) child

539 A very barbarous Tachi. Ekak is the Yaudanchi stem ĭka, not found in the Valley dialects, with the imperative ending -ka

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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or -k found only in the Valley dialects. Child in Tachi is not witeep but witep. Tcan-a seems to be similarly formed, by substitution of tc for t, from tan, Yaudanchi tañ, objective of ta, that. 539

10. A medicine man's song for dancing. He dreamed that his father said to him: 533 539 756 142

lanaka nan-a
listen to-me

mayèmai
(name of the composer of the song)

notu na keu
east I there

teicin-è wèhè
shall-emerge who

wè mukulau
we (turning)

hi sonolo wèhè
hi head-feather-ornament who

11. From the informant's grandfather.

yò-nono pana
again (persons)

piwaca nan yo-nona pana
grizzly-bear me again (persons)

For piwaca compare the Tachi form biwaeă and Tulamni biawaa. For pana compare song 8.

12. Dreamed by a man the night after he had seen a water monster.

watin xe t'uit'ai dupit·
whose this about fish!

wi xi min ta wateam ahădad
well, this your that feather-head-ornament is-pointing

13. Grizzly-bear-doctor's song, learned from the bears by the informant's father-in-law.

mèedjin xolònon
(noise of scratching)

teuyuak ma ha tala taaji
(even if you enter)

yakiuhaaliu
at the rocks

tă-na-nam otokotooji
that I you (raise)

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539 197 Yakiuhaaliu is the locative of the collective -hal, which has so far been found only in Yauelmani, suffixed to the Yaudanchi stem yakau, rock, for which Yauelmani uses silil. The l in this and other words points to a Valley dialect.

533 539 192 14. Eagle song, for dancing. Dreamed by the informant's grandfather. Clearly a Valley dialect.

yileyalè			
earthquake			
silika	nim	teieau	
see	my	emergence-at	
walăliu	teoxil-a	măyu	
at-open-place	eagle		

15. Dancing song. The informant's grandmother dreamed that she learned it from a coyote.

mam	wiliteyau	muyukun		
you	(in-front-of)	whirl		
yèhă				
yeha				
uyayet	ke	teèkèya	măyin	p'aanin
(mourn-for)	that	string	over	world's

Said to be Yauelmani; and in fact teikei, string, and ke, that, are Yauelmani but not Yaudanchi forms. Cf. l in wiliteyau.

16. Coyote song. For dancing.

un	kaiu		
I	coyote		
naan	kaiu		
we	coyotes		
ama	p'an	widji	taeki
then	earth	told	these
ama	p'an	widji	
then	earth	told	
a-ma-nan-hi	k'uyak'tad		
not you me will	scratch		

17. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu-na	yawud		
coyote I	(do-thus)		
ama	na	t-ipinit	lòlènna
then	I	from-above	(twirled)
kaiiu-na	yaud		
coyote-I	(do-thus)		

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18. Coyote song. For dancing.

kaiiu wita
coyote said

hanham-na kaiiu-na
what-am I? coyote I

wi idkau-un na
well, water-in I

hanham-na
what-am I?

kaiiu-na
coyote I

This song is said to be from the Kings River or Northern Yokuts.

19. Coyote song. For dancing. The deer says:

xeu nau t'ui eik'an-nim
here me shoot side-in my

kaiyuwin mam ta t'uyoe
coyote's you that arrow

20. Dancing song; about the deer.

wat-a nan
who me

t'uyou
shoots!

t·ipinit
from-above

t'uyou
shoots!

yèiteai
once

t'uyou
shoots!

wèhèn
when

21. Dancing song about the deer.

xuyiu naan
return we

nòtu naan xuyiu
east we return

tahitelpau
to-Tehachapi

p'annin
land's

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
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22. Mountain-sheep song.

'hiyeu-na ukunumũ

or: hideu-na ukun
where I drink-will

wa na dõnto ukun
far I mountain-at drink-will

23. Ground-squirrel song. When the ground-squirrel, pohad, eats buckeyes, it becomes crazy.

ama wateimji oteote t·ipin
Then swung-in-his-hand magpie high

muyukju
whirled

wateimin oteoteo
swinging-in-his-hand magpie

[301] Wateam is a feather ornament held in the hand, wateim is to hold or move it; oteote, magpie, appears to mean magpie feathers.

24. Road-runner's song. Yauelmani or a Valley dialect. The Yaudanchi equivalent words as given by the informant are added.

oynoyu nan he
oyuy nan xe
road-runner me here

linini mai
dawit-sa mak
let-run us-two

hiam-ã na teokonit
hiam na teokit
now I am-hit

teokunan nim
teoxfnan nim
feather-bolt-in my

25. Otter song. Yaudanchi.

nahnit· hãhi dawit yaudau
otter (said): "run in-brush!"

dafnand-na yaudau dawit
hear I: "in-brush run!"

26. Water's song. Dreamed by a female relative, of his grandfather's generation, of the informant. The present version is in Yaudanchi. The original song is said to have been in the

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Yokol dialect. In this the first line ran: yo ki-mi-nana taxenen, and the last: tolomit na ilekin. 533 539 192

yo	ti-na	taxin
again	do you	come!

wa	ha	mai	kitewin
far	something	we	will-go

wa	na	kitiu
far	I	go

todomit	na	idkin
do-not-find	I	water's

27. Pleiades song. Dreamed by a relative of the informant's father.

guyèpa	nana	guyèpa
(spin-around	we	spin-around)

hāini	hamāna
(fly	what-we?)

mòxumxai
(Pleiades)

Said to be in Paleuyami dialect.

28. Song from a myth about the prairie-falcon.

xoiyu	nan
return	to-me! (we!)

xoiyu	nan
return	(bis)

ama	nim	hūwut·
then	my	gambling

t·awe	nau
beat	me

dokoi-nim
game my

29. Another.

hiwèti	go
yo na	again I
hiwèti	go
naamtayo	
lauiyo	
hilalèkiyo	
t·awat·e	beat

533 30. Another.

539 yahĭ lulumai
192 yahĭmai lulûmai
sawawa kanama
tanĭyo
yapĭwipĭwimai
tawana tainiyo
hilalĭkiyo
t-awat-i t-awat-

31. Another.

hila ma tă	you
hayăwiyu	(ridicule)
lòkoyowani	(ignorant)
wnatin	whose
humuyu hile	

32. Another.

hòsĭmi	cold
hòsĭwimĭne	cold
wanit wilima	from-far (?)
lană-na-ma	hear
hòsimi	cold

782 788 796 33. A prayer for good fortune. Yauelmani. Evidently a fixed formula. Spoken rapidly, rhythmically, and monotonously, with motions of the arms, alternately and together, to the heart and out again. Seven deities are addressed. The impure vowels found in the names of these deities do not occur in Yauelmani. The r occurring in pitauriut is not a Yokuts sound at all.

782	silkawil	nan
	[illegible]	[illegible]
192	silka-nan	töweiut
	[illegible]	name (= maker)
539	silka-nan	bamăeiut
	[illegible]	name
	silka-nan	yoxăxalt
	[illegible]	name (= crusher)
	silka-nan	etebpat
	[illegible]	name

105 to graduate from high school, nor have any of the Indians become tradesmen or artisans. The primary source of income for the group is wages derived [166] from farm labor. This is one of the reasons for the fluctuating population; frequent trips from Lemoore in search of work take families away for days [648] or weeks. Frequent visits from other Indians also added to the picture of a constantly shifting population. Working as farm laborers has thrown the Tachis in with Mexicans, as well as with other groups of Indians, and genealogies have become very complicated.

115 The singers were all older people with the exception of Clarence 533 Atwell, who was about thirty years old when the 1940 recordings were made. 756 He was certainly the most energetic and outstanding singer recorded. He had been a practicing doctor for a year before his death in 1940.

Leon Manuel was about 70 years old when the 1937 recordings were made. He was still active and, since he received a pension from the government, had a good deal of time to devote to making clapsticks and other paraphernalia. He knew a great number of songs and was a good singer, but [354] he was not a doctor. Manuel was in good standing with the Tachis because of his pension and because he knew some of the "old-time songs" and ways. The importance of knowing traditional songs here is somewhat analogous to the attitudes in the Peyote cults among the Washo:

> The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists and the degree to which the Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with the song, drum, and rattle...A large repertoire of songs is also the measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is not doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him." (Merrian and d'Azevedo, 1957. 618:19.)

I make the analogy here between the Tachi and the Washo because doctors have had to be good singers, both at the present time and in the past. This is not unusual in California; in general, it is necessary to know a large number of songs and to be able to sing them well in order to be a doctor in many areas of the state.

115 Josie Atwell, the mother of Clarence Atwell, came to the Tachi community 533 from Sanger, where there is a Wechihit Yokuts group. She was recorded in 1940 and again in 1957, and was in her eighties at the latter session.

Professor Kroeber's recordings of 1903 were made of a singer named Salt Lake Pete. Although the stories which he told are still known and remembered, not a single one of his songs is known today, neither the

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. 182 533 [177]

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of they rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was 4/4, the accompaniment might be 4/4, 2/4, or 1/4. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1) [539]

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may pa?a seo

2. ke wey may xo ke we may xo pa?a seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc.

533 Therefore the compression occurs after the third repeat of the first phrase, after the second repeat of the second phrase, and so on.

Almost all the songs were sung by both males and females with no apparent 533 difference or "parts" such as found on the northwest California coast. One 462 of the exceptions to this statement is the single work song recorded -- the Acorn Grinding Song. This song was sung only by the women, who did the acorn grinding, while the males did not, or pretended not, to know it. It is true that the males knew more songs than the women; no reason was given why the women could not sing them if they wanted to. The one example of harmony, which occurs in the Sopas Song, is certainly accidental.

533 The tempos ranged from andantino to vivace, from 63 beats to 136 beats per minute, with the bulk of the songs falling at the latter end of the scale. In some of the songs there was considerable rhythmic variation. This was for two reasons: the first was that some of the songs, like the Deer Song mentioned above, were supposed to be sung without a fixed beat. The second reason for variation stemmed from the fact that individual singers, when singing alone, could and would vary rhythm and melody much more than when the group sang together. The combination of the group's clapsticks and singing would carry the song to its conclusion with a minimum of discontinuity.

The spread of the melodic contour was rarely over eight or ten semitones, with the largest group falling between six and seven semitones. This is in contrast with the northwest California coast, where an octave and one-half are extremely common, especially in the Brush Dance and White Deerskin Dance Songs. This again contrasts with the limited spread which is found among [171] the Modoc, Shasta, Achomawi, and other north central and northeastern groups. Among these groups melodic spreads of three or four semitones are not uncommon, and there is one grass game song, recorded by Dr. Kroeber, characterised by a two semi-tone spread.

The scale was predominantly pentatonic, although the limited spread of some of the songs made it difficult to evaluate. Some, but not all, of the songs showed a definable rise. The rise in Tachi music can best be described as a low-pitch low-contrast section alternating with a rise of a fourth or a fifth and a descending lyrical passage back to the low-pitch low-contrast section. The Tawanic or Morning Song shows a rise beginning in the 5th measure, and again in the 18th. The Lizard Handgame Song #4 begins with a rise.

Another feature of the songs was the sparseness of lyrics. Most of the songs averaged no more than two or three phrases totaling 10-12 syllables. Common repetition patterns for lines were:

1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2; 1,1,1,2,2,2,1,1,2,2,3,1,1;

and so forth. The repetition of the Lizard Handgame Song showed some variation:

1,1,1,1,2,1,1,1,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,2,2,1,1,1,1,2.

Apparently the number of repetitions made depends upon the singer's disposition and the context of the song, while the order of phrases is fixed by convention. In Professor Kroeber's early transcriptions the bulk of the songs were a few to several syllables longer than the 1940 and 1957 recordings. While the earlier songs sometimes contained up to eight or ten phrases totaling as many as eighty syllables, there was not a single long song found in the latter recordings. The Rattlesnake Ceremony Songs from the adjacent Yaudanchi area were particularly long (Kroeber 1907: 363-75). 533

A correlate of the shortness of the songs is their highly allusive character. The personal power song of Dawis Sapagay is given in text. This song refers to a rather elaborate story of how Sapagay was given the power to heal sickness. Sapagay was a very well-known doctor throughout the Tachi area. 538

Dawis Sapagay's Song [539]

palawa na he palawa na he	"Where will I go in?"
he yeo okonew palawa na he	"I will go in (at the place)
yo ke wey na yo ke wa ke wa	where green scum is on the pool."

The story is as follows:

Looking for a doctor who could teach him curing power, Sapagay went to the edge of Wood Lake to find the underwater entrance to the place where the doctor lived. He dove in (at the place where the green scum is), and came up in a cave in which he met the guardians of the doctor. There was a man-sized spider with voracious jaws, and, afterwards, a rattlesnake coiled ready to strike. Last, there was a puma and a bear who tore men to pieces. Sapagay used a kingsnake charm against the spider and the rattlesnake (kingsnakes eat spiders and rattlesnakes), while against the puma and the bear he used a weasel charm which made him small and agile. He thus passed them by. 539 756 [789] [825]

Other songs of this sort are the Weli Weli, the Rattlesnake Ceremony Song, and the Sopas Songs. When the informant was asked to sing the Sapugay Song he did so, and when he was asked about the meaning of the words, he told the entire story quoted in text here. The assumption was that the hearer of the song knew the story to begin with. Also it became apparent that there was no hard-and-fast distinction between the lyrics and the story behind the song. 533 538

There were songs which were fairly self-explanatory: the Handgame Song (#3) involves a bone hidden in one of the hands. The idea of the game is that one player will be singing the goading song while his opponent will try to guess which hand the bone is in. The Morning Song (#7) is simply a description of the morning star. The Rain Song (#8) is sung in the rain-making ceremony. The "thunder rock" (unuk) is partially covered with water by the shaman in order to produce mild rains. If the rock is covered with water, torrential rains will ensue. There were a fairly large number of hand-game songs, mostly similar in rhythm and melody to those which are given. There is certainly more variety and complexity in these than is found in grass-game songs among the Miwok and the more northerly tribes. It is unfortunate that there was not more time to devote to getting the meaning of the words, especially since there is a group of songs in which allusion figures so importantly.

General Considerations

One of the most significant changes in Tachi and Central Valley music in general is related to the roles played by the Indians in the economy of the state. As most of them obtain a large percentage of their income from employment as farm labor, there is a good deal of contact with other Indians, and the picture at the Lemoore reservation is one of a constantly shifting and mobile population. One of the effects of this condition is the exchange of songs. The Tachis sang songs which were identified as Choynimni and Wechihit Yokuts and Mono and Squaw Valley in origin. The Tulare Lake Song (#1) and the Handgame Song (#6) are certainly Yokuts songs, but are not in Tachi dialect. Many of the songs have no English gloss because only a part of the song was understood by the singer. Songs composed entirely of nonsense syllables are absent among the Tachi, and probably in the entire Yokuts area. It should be said that the borrowing of songs is not confined to the San Joaquin Valley in California nor is it a new thing, although it is certain that the tempo of exchange has increased. A sitting-down song sung by a Pomo informant is included; this song is almost identical with a song sung by a Southern Sierra Miwok Indian from near Yosemite a year after the Pomo version was collected. Since the Miwok had died before this writer could get a gloss for the song, it was unknown whether the song was Miwok or Pomo. 533 177 178

With the exchange of songs between people of dissimilar linguistic affiliations it would seem that nonsense syllable songs would be very common. This is not the case with the Tachis in that at least partial, and occasionally incorrect, meanings are known for all the songs. It seems probable that

[177] [178] songs identified by the Indians as "Mono" and "Squaw" Valley" are actually from distant Yokuts groups. The partial understanding of the lyrics argues for this, while Shoshonean or Athabascan songs would not be understood at all.
533

[171] Tachi music is distinctive in California in a number of ways. Whereas the Hupa, Karok, and Yurok groups feature a quite wide melodic spread, the Tachi seldom have more than an octave. This characteristic is again in contrast with the extremely restricted spreads which occur in northeastern California. There is no syncopation in Tachi or northeastern music, but it does occur in the northwest California groups.

[176] Another feature is connected with the relative length of time the Yokuts and other groups have been in contact with European culture. None of the ceremonies which were performed in the earlier days are still performed in the Tachi area. The music has been dissociated from the ceremonies. However, in the northwest groups the White Deerskin Dance, as well as a number of the other rituals, are still performed with the appropriate songs.

[171] All of the Tachi songs recorded showed a strongly syllabic character. This was true of the 1903, the 1940, and the 1957 recordings. It is also the case with the northeastern California, but not with the northwestern California music. Syllables such as pa, ta, wa, na, and ka are extremely common and are used in many cases as nonsense syllables to fill out the lines.

The variation which occurred was quite extensive, vowels in particular showing much more variation than occurs in speech. Since the two-line song predominated, it is difficult to make any statement about the variation in the order of line repetition. Melodic variation was frequent but showed no significant direction. This is not surprising if we remember that the Tachi music is only changing by being forgotten. There has to be some consensus on the desirability or undesirability of variation in order to give direction to a musical tradition.

538 is betrayed, but to her pregnancy as a consequence of the betrayal. The "confession feast," the ritualistic recounting of an exotic experience, climaxes the Orpheus tales (abstracts 139-153).

[606] The rôle of parents-in-law as mediators in domestic quarrels is indicated in the Pleiades tales (tales 15, 33).

[525 526] The great gambling game, particularly for spectacular rivalry, was shinny. Of secondary importance, arrow shooting, lance throwing, racing, and the hand-game are mentioned as forms of contests.

[171] Hunting adventures and exploits, which are frequent in stories from the Basin, are ignored, as are almost all mundane occupations. The eating of clover and wild onions (tales 14, 15, 33, [262] 36; abstract 57), and seed gathering (p. 1; abstract 114) are spoken of, but rarely.

[576] Custom required one to call out when approaching a house. To draw near unannounced would arouse suspicion (mentioned in an abstracted text).

538 The sacred quality of tobacco is brought out
778 by Falcon's exclusive use of it as food and occasional references to its usage for accomplish-
[276] ing some superhuman task (tales 31, 34, 39; abstract 92). The common sacred talisman, a strand of eagle down, is mentioned (tales 33, 34, 53).

● [533] Contact with one's supernatural power or guardian spirit through song is indicated in a few tales (tales 26, 43, 46).

538 It is not rewarding to recount further the incidents of culture in the stories: this résumé indicates the general nature of the cultural features exhibited.

Formalized structure of the tales is not always followed. The most common opening of a Yokuts story is with a statement: "People were living there" (ṭaw xo·xo·hin mani· yokʰts) or "So-and-so was there" or "So-and-so was going
[171] along." Western Mono myths more often refer to the time rather than the place, saying, "In olden times" or "Long ago" (manati· co·in) before taking up the action.

Closing phrases are not necessary. A few of Newman's texts end with "That is the end" or my own, taken in English, with "And that's all." But there is no indication of the "tying up" of a story reported for some people or a "call for
[784] an early spring." The taboo on summer story-telling was known but thought of as unimportant, or as a logical consequence of habits rather than as a taboo at all. All of Newman's texts were recorded in the summer. My Michahai informant said that people naturally told stories in the winter evenings, in the summer young people
[574] stayed outside and played. According to the same informant, any visitor in a house might tell stories or adventures. Boys and girls would ask for them if they dared, or hoped that conversa-
[863] tion would evoke such recountings. Adolescent Michahai would go to a well-known storyteller's

538 C883] house in the early evening and stay till they were "chased home."

171 538 It is apparent, however, that the "animal transformation" episode serves as a closing incident. While this event is the subject of complete tales, fully developed, it appears in contracted form at the end of almost any myth. This is true of Yokuts and Western Mono particularly, and is somewhat less characteristic of Owens Valley Paiute, Miwok, and Pomo. As tales of more northerly groups are examined, this ending, describing a group transformation which signified the ending of one era and the beginning of the present, gives way to single transformations, either of one's self or another. This individual transformation blends into the Transformer Concept of Plateau-Northwest Coast distribution.

● [533] Songs are more frequently introduced in Western Mono myths than in Yokuts, one trait among many which show the close kin of Mono tales with those of the Basin Shoshoneans.[10] On the other hand, conversation appears more often as a stylistic device in Yokuts myths.

538 776 825 The persons participating in the tales are few, almost exclusively those "great ones" whose lineages are important in actuality: Eagle, Falcon, Cougar, Coyote, Dove, Crow. Eagle is the creator, but is seldom an actor; there is never a hint that he is anything but wise, just, and powerful. Wolf is the creator or a participant in Western Mono and Yauelmani creation tales. Coyote plays a dual rôle, that of creator or, more often, assistant creator, and that of a dupe. Falcon,[11] the fighter and gambler, is the only person to be favored with a metaphorical title: he is often called "The Fearsome One" (ṭanyiṭit).[12]

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[10] Cf. Sapir, Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology.

171 825 [11] The simple form "Falcon" has been used throughout as there is doubt in any given instance whether it is the prairie falcon or the peregrine falcon (duck hawk) which is meant. The Yokuts li'mik is supposed to be the prairie falcon (Falco mexicanus) which is identified with kini', the duck hawk (Falco peregrinus anatum), by the Western Mono. For the foothill Yokuts and the Mono mountaineers it is possible that the duck hawk is thought of as the hero. The two birds are not readily distinguishable: "The Prairie Falcon resembles the Duck Hawk in size and actions, though it is not as courageous and 'noble' as the latter .... Both Falcons nest on ledges or in caves of cliffs but the Duck Hawk's aerie commonly overlooks water, while the Prairie Falcon frequently nests in very arid country" (May, Hawks of North America, 107). (See Falcon's Home, abstract 86.)

136 [12] The peregrine falcon (duck hawk) "....is, perhaps the most highly specialized and superlatively well-developed flying organism on our planet today, combining in a marvellous degree the highest powers of speed and aerial adroitness with massive, warlike strength. A powerful, wild, majestic, independent bird, living on the choicest of clean, carnal food, plucked fresh